THE MINORITY- MINORITY: ASSIMILATION OF PUNJABI COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN GERMANY

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Abstract

Esha Kaur Grover: The Minority-Minority: Assimilation of Punjabi Communities in Northern Germany
(Under the direction of Donald Searing)

The Indian presence in Germany has been significant, though small, since the Second World War Political turmoil in Punjab in 1984 brought many Punjabi men to Germany for work. Though few of them were granted asylum, many remained as economic migrants. In the recent years, these immigrants have brought more of their extended family from India, as well as having children in Germany who are now reaching adolescence. In addition, immigrants in Germany are receiving more political and academic attention as the need to address integration issues becomes clear. Aside from a brief right-wing campaign against bringing in immigrants to work ICT jobs (Kinder Statt Inder), Indian immigrants have received next to no attention from political systems or academia.

In this thesis I have recorded and analyzed my findings after conducting twenty interviews with Punjabi immigrants in Bremen as well as attending weekly temple services there. I strive to place them in both the context of immigrants in Germany and Punjabi immigrant communities around the world.

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Introduction

The dominant minority group in Germany, the Turkish, has been studied extensively in Political Science and Sociology. Though they struggle as any minority does for representation, their struggle is relatively public and well-heard. The Indian community, however, has had a significant presence in Germany since the Second World War, but one that has been rarely discussed. This presence has grown and increased, particularly recently when Germany began issuing visas to immigrants trained in ICT.

Despite the small size of Punjabi communities in Germany, particularly in smaller cities such as Bremen, they have successfully retained their culture, religion, language, and traditions. I have chosen Punjabi communities to study for this thesis because, though they are studied in English-speaking countries, academic analysis and discussion of their presence in Germany has been rare. Moreover, sociological theory would predict that, given the small size of this community, Punjabis should be well integrated and assimilated in German culture - but thus far my research has found the opposite - even among second-generation university students. This project aims to explain and analyze how Punjabis balance their home and host country cultures: to what extent they assimilate and integrate, and how they are able to retain so strongly their ties to their home country despite the small size of their communities.

The community studied here is indeed extremely small and specific. Nevertheless, it is significant in two contexts. First of all, immigration is becoming an increasingly prominent topic in Europe and in Germany specifically. Though most studies understandably focus on the more common Turkish immigrants, North African immigrants, or inter-EU migrant workers, smaller

immigrant groups still fit into the picture and must be considered and discussed in order to understand fully the larger issue of immigrant integration in Germany. In addition, Punjabi immigrant communities have been studied extensively in places such as the UK and California, Canada and Australia. There are signs that Germany may soon become the next significant host country for Punjabi immigrants, despite the fact that it is not an English-speaking nation.

Given the small size of the present Punjabi community and the limits of this study, my research question is rather general: the goal of this thesis is to place the Punjabis of Germany, specifically of Bremen, in the larger context of both immigrants in Germany and Punjabi immigrant communities around the world.

The first section of this paper will provide a general historical review of the Indian presence in Germany. It will summarize why and when Indians came to Germany in the past century. I will then focus on Punjabi immigrants in particular. Since very few studies if any have been done of Punjabi immigrants in Germany, I will provide some information on Punjabi immigrant communities in California and the UK as a frame of reference. I will then proceed to present my independent research. During a six-month stay in Bremen, I attended weekly religious service at the *Gurdwara* (Sikh temple), made frequent visits to Indian restaurants and befriend Punjabis who owned them or worked there. In addition to my general observations, I conducted twenty interviews with Punjabi residents of Bremen (of both genders and all ages), which will provide the empirical basis for my findings. Relying on Portes and Zhou's segmented assimilation theory among others, I will discuss how the Punjabi community of Bremen has assimilated and integrated into Germany society.

I start with a brief description of the community before discussing my findings in three parts. The first two parts will include limited comparisons to the Turkish community relying on

secondary sources. The first point is that I wish to contest the notion that smaller immigrant groups are necessarily more likely to assimilate to the host country. Here I will challenge the sociological theory of Esser and others about minority integration and assimilation - in particular, theories that claim that smaller minority communities are more likely to integrate into the society of the host country. I will pose my research question as a challenge to this theory using the case of Punjabi immigrants in Germany. Though the Punjabi community in Bremen is relatively small, it is an incredibly tight-knit community that does not seem to have much interest in creating friendships with native Germans or adopting German culture - even among the younger generation. I will demonstrate this lack of assimilation by reviewing my interview results on points such as music and movie preferences, and friendship choices - ranging across all ages and genders. I will also discuss how Punjabis keep friends mainly in their own community even though they all mention frequently how difficult it is to find these friends in school or at work; this leaves their weekly church meetings as the main arena for social interaction. In addition, I will review how studies of Turkish immigrant integration and assimilation compare to my research on Punjabis in order to give a little more context to immigrant communities in Germany in general.

My second point supports segmented assimilation theory. Though the second generation is still growing, and its position in German society is yet to be determined, I will argue that they show characteristics of a middle way - achieving economic and social success in Germany without assimilating culturally. Parents push their children to be attentive to family life and values by avoiding staying out late or after-school social activities. However, pressure on children to do well in school and attend university is surprisingly low given trends of other immigrant communities who follow this path of segmented assimilation. I will discuss possible

explanations for this later in the paper, albeit without drawing solid conclusions. I will once again discuss Turkish immigrants in this context and discuss how their community may also show signs of downward mobility.

My third section compares my findings in this Bremen community to other Punjabi immigrant communities in the UK and US. Since the Bremen Punjabi community is fairly new and small, it is still early to determine how and to what degree they will integrate. Early patterns of smaller Punjabi immigrant communities in the UK and US may provide insight into this community's status today as well as their integration trajectory. Pressure to do well in school is a foundational characteristic of Punjabi immigrant communities in California and the UK, but it is surprisingly lacking in the Punjabi community of Bremen. I will discuss Germany's education system and possible explanations for this difference.

I will conclude by summarizing my findings and discussing how this Punjabi community resembles other immigrant communities in Germany, as well as how it compares and contrasts to Punjabi communities in other countries.

Minorities in Germany - Historical Review of Indians in Germany

Upon hearing any combination of the words "immigrant" and "Germany", an immediate association with Turkish immigrants is formed. For the past fifty or so years, the Turkish migrant community has dominated academic, political, and economic considerations of immigration in Germany. Opposition to immigration has been increasing, particularly given the rise of Euroskeptic parties who generally oppose immigration. In addition, Germany's complicated path to citizenship presents challenges to all immigrants wishing to be naturalized or even assimilate. Alhough extensive analysis in many forms has been done on the Turkish presence in Germany, relatively little research has been done on other immigrant groups. As the EU continues to

expand, Germany sees increases in immigration from Eastern Europe. The Arab Spring has spawned a rise of North African immigrants to Germany. In addition, a recent green card policy in Germany has resulted in a rapid rise of Indian immigrants to fill ICT jobs in hopes of expanding that sector of their economy. For multiple reasons, the rise of Indian immigration has been largely neglected in academic literature. Though the Turkish are Germany's dominant minority, the rise of Indian immigration presents new challenges to German economy and society.

Though the rise of Indian immigration is particularly relevant recently, India's relationship with Germany has been significant for over a century. The Indian presence in Germany began in the early 1900s, and though small, has been notable since then. In cities like Berlin, third and even fourth generation Indians have made bicultural communities and have a significant online presence. Though Indians seem an insignificant group in immigration studies in Germany, their presence here has been notable since early Indian efforts to overthrow the colonial British. Many Indians began studying in Europe (most notably the U.K.) in the early 1900s; however, leaders such as Nehru cautioned against studying in England so as to avoid an education tainted by colonial perspective. Catering to this notion, Germany began, on a small level, to actively attract Indians as well. Indian POWs from the British army were held outside of Berlin, and were granted the option of staying in Germany if they worked for the German foreign service office (Manjapra 2014, 90). Many of these Indians stayed after the war and joined the small community of Indian students in and near Berlin. In this time, most Indian students were not in Germany studying medicine or even law, but were often artisans studying their craft in an academic setting, viewing "German Europe as a reservoir of know-how and technique in the arts and sciences" (Manjapra 2014, 94). Regardless of the subject of their studies, most students in

Berlin were engaged in political activism - doing things such as sending banned Marxist literature back to India.

Many significant Indian revolutionaries and political figures were educated in Germany. One example is the third president of India, Zakir Hussain (Manjapra 2014, 96). Subhas Chandra Bose also held close ties with Germany, though he was never formally educated there. In addition to marrying a German woman, he enlisted the support of Nazi Germany in overthrowing British rule. Subhas Chandra Bose is perhaps the most notable Indian of this time to form a significant relationship with Germany, though this relationship was obviously complicated. It is said that Adolf Hitler was understandably reluctant to support the subcontinent, but ultimately agreed in hopes of causing political turmoil and consequently weakening Britain from the Indian front (Manjapra 2014, 106).

Because German universities were open to foreign students, Indians continued to come to Germany for education in the 1940s. In addition, post-war economic conditions created a need for qualified workers, so Indians came to Germany for work, and many of those educated in Germany found jobs and stayed (Goel 2006). Immigration policy became more restrictive in the 1970s, making it difficult for Indians to immigrate unless they were spouses, students under very specific conditions, or people seeking asylum. Many Punjabis began applying for asylum in the 1980s, particularly with the violent events and turmoil of 1984. Germany argued that the Punjabis could seek refuge elsewhere in India, and thus Punjabis in the 80s were only allowed to stay during the asylum process, or if they married Germans. Many of them settled in Frankfurt, creating gurdwaras and a "sikh infrastructure" there (Goel 2006). Later in this study I will present the story of a particular Punjabi migrant who settled in Bremen after having applied for asylum.

Not all transnational relationships, however, were academic. In 1926 a heavily advertised circus in Berlin featured "Indians in the Zoo" - an exhibit in which around 100 South Asians performed dances and snake charming rituals up to six times a day for less than 50 marks a month (Manjapra 2014, 98). Similar performances had happened in the previous two decades, and by 1926 a small diasporic community formed and began to oppose publicly the treatment of their fellow-countrymen and their representation in German media (Manjapra 2014, 98).

Other than recruitment of Malayli nurses intermittently, no major changes in Indian immigration were seen in Germany until 2000 when Germany offered a Green Card for IT specialists. Goel estimates that the number of Indian citizens in Germany went from 35,000 in the late 1990s to 43,000 in 2003 (Goel 2006).

Literature Review

Research on Punjabis and Indian immigrants in Germany is slim to non-existent. Thus my literature review consists of general studies on immigrants in Germany and Punjabi immigrants in other countries. I also draw from sociological theory not necessarily specific to either Germany or Punjabis but nonetheless applicable and relevant. Portes and Zhou's segmented assimilation theory provides an alternative to the earlier notion that all immigrants will eventually assimilate. They instead provide three possible outcomes: one, that immigrants will assimilate and prosper into the white middle class; two, immigrants do not assimilate and stay segregated and poor (downward mobility); or, three - as I argue happens to the Punjabi community in Bremen and around the world - immigrants stay strongly tied to their community and traditional values while still achieving economic success in the host country (Portes and Zhou 1993, 82).

Regarding immigrants in Germany, specifically the role of religion in friendship choices,

I refer to Windzio and Wingens' 2014 study "Religion, friendship networks, and home visits of immigrant and native children". The authors discuss how friendship ties develop from regular religious services, but also explore how a shared moral value system creates trust between members of the same religion. Since many religions inherently believe that non-believers are "bad", boundaries are created simply by ascribing to one religion (Windzio and Wingens 2014, 61). In particular, active members of a religious community may fear that letting their children play with or associate with children of other religions and cultures threatens their investment in their religious community.

More general sociological theory in this study will draw from Esser's 2010 study but also his citations of Schwarz and Blau's 1984 book. Esser explains this earlier theory: "chances for intra- and interethnic relations (of any kind) are distributed according to the objective structure of relative group sizes...members of a smaller group already have structurally higher chances (and even the "pressure") for interethnic contacts or investments than do members of a larger group" (Esser 2010, 8). Esser would presumably hypothesize that due to the small size of the Punjabi community in Bremen, their chances of integration in Germany society would be higher. I will challenge this theory with my observations of Bremen's Punjabi community.

Concerning literature specifically on Indians in Germany, Urmila Goel has written multiple articles along with a website with information I draw upon to give historical background to the Indian presence in Germany. She details migration patterns of Indians in Europe but specifically Germany, tracing which groups migrated where in Germany and for what reasons. In addition to helpful historical reviews of the Indian presence in Germany, Goel has also written about the emergence of an Indian second generation in Germany and their internet presence. As the Indian second-generation comes of age, its members begin to self-represent publically on the

internet. They want to perpetuate an image of their origins different from an absurd exoticised or Oriental image that Western Europe still seems to have. In her 2008 article, Urmila Goel notes that these sites, however, have been criticized of being idealized. "This idealised representation is likely to appear on internet portals established by marginalised groups and is a reaction to the hegemonic and forceful discourses they face" (Goel 2008, 211). Her study informs this one, as it indicates both the native German view of Indian immigrants as well as the ironic overcorrection of some second-generation Indians. The websites listed in her study are all in German, which I find to be indicative of both education levels and some form of assimilation. We must, of course, take into consideration that these websites are representative exclusively of the younger generation. In addition, it is indicative of a community perhaps larger and older than the Punjabi community in Bremen. My research in Bremen would indicate that a facebook page of the Gurdwara community represents most if not all of that community's internet presence. I will discuss this page later in the paper.

For insight on German perception of immigrants and the two-sidedness of the integration issue, I rely on a 2004 study by Paul M. Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. A current point of discourse in both academia and German culture is the notion that integration is a two-sided issue - that immigrants are not solely responsible for their integration, but the host country also bears responsibility. Though active, outright prejudice has not been experienced by any of the interviewees in this study, many more general studies of immigration in Germany have discussed opposition to immigration in terms of perceived economic and cultural threats. Often in Europe and around the world, an influx of immigrants can be perceived by natives as a threat. This perceived threat becomes more and more relevant to the European Union as they face increasing numbers of refugees from North Africa, immigrants from Eastern Europe, and

hear the messages of far-right Euroskeptic parties who often stand on anti-immigration platforms. Literature analyzing the drivers of anti-immigrant sentiments have most often been centered around notions of cultural threat, but many also stress the importance of a perceived economic threat.

The Sniderman et. al. article compares two theories on attitudes for immigrants, namely realistic conflict and social identity. Realistic conflict deals with perceived economic threat, while social identity considers perceived threats to one's identity based on group membership. As an example of Western European opinion, Sniderman chooses the Netherlands and analyzes survey data from 1997 and 1998. In their "fitting in" experiment, they find cultural threats much more significant than economic ones. For example, more Dutch citizens were moved to oppose immigration if the immigrants did not speak Dutch and were not likely to assimilate than if the immigrants were poorly educated and likely to work in low-skilled jobs. Their next experiment focuses on the perceived cultural threat, priming respondents for either national or individual identity. Consistent with expectations, the results showed that respondents primed by national identity were more likely to oppose immigration. They find perceived economic threat relevant on both an individual and national level but not as significant as the perceived cultural threats.

Though many studies have argued that attitudes towards immigrants are vastly different across Western European countries as a result of their varying policies, I would argue that the above pattern is directly relevant to immigrants in Germany. I chose this article as a reference for my study because of its comprehensive research design and ability to analyze various aspects of opposition to immigration without being too specific, though, of course, the specific location of their research is not ideal to my study.

Description of the Community

Most of my interactions with the Punjabi community in Bremen occurred at the Sikh temple. For four months I went to services every week, in addition to meeting with Punjabi students at the university during the week and speaking with restaurant owners and workers who did not necessarily frequent the Gurdwara. The Gurdwara community is quite small (I estimate an average congregation of 70 people - up to 120 on holidays), thus everyone knows everyone else and is familiar with the lives of each family. Many interviewees told me that the parents' main fear was maintaining their reputation and family honor in the community. They seem unconcerned about what Germans think of them. But their status in the Punjabi community (eg, telling girls to not be seen with boys so as to not start rumors about her promiscuity) is extremely important. This is characteristic of Indian culture in general. Reputation and family honor hold an important place in the Indian community and particularly among Punjabis.

Generally, the majority of the Punjabi community moved to Bremen around 30 years ago amidst the violent uprisings of 1984 in Punjab. Since few Punjabis were granted asylum at this time (none of the interviewees in the study were), they were considered economic migrants - moving for jobs in the shipyard outside of Bremen in Bremerhaven, or working in kitchens and restaurants. Generally, these men moved for work because of economic and political hardship in Punjab. Some were married and waited for their wives to follow, while others established themselves economically and socially before returning to India to marry. In a few cases, Indian men married native women to keep their residence permits. Of the two Punjabis I interviewed for whom this was the case, one admitted to having married exclusively for citizenship. He later divorced the woman and married his current wife from Punjab, starting a family with her in Bremen. The other man is still married to his German wife and lives with her and their son in the neighboring seaside city of Bremerhaven. Though they recently have stopped attending

Gurdwara regularly (perhaps because of the commute from Bremerhaven), many of the teenagers in the community recount being friends with the son when they were children. Though the son's only tie to Punjab is his father's heritage, he still proudly displays his Indian identity - including a facebook profile picture of him in front of the Indian flag. Though they are accepted as members of the community, anyone I talked to about them asked me in a whisper if I knew that he had a white mother. This is a good indication of how rare and socially frowned-upon intermarriage is in this community.

The second generation is reaching teenage years and facing decisions about university education and marriage. The closeness of families and the importance of parents is particularly evident here. Even interviewees in their mid-twenties lived with their parents and obeyed their rules. These interviewees, however, were entirely male, as a woman of this age would either be enrolled in university or married. This binary nature of the young adult lives of women is perhaps shocking but not uncommon among Indians and the diaspora. Among the single women older than 18 interviewed in this study, three were attending university and the fourth was preparing to go to India for an arranged marriage. The mother of this girl has recently become rather vocal in the community about the uselessness of women being university educated, arguing that they would later be married and hence their time studying would prove useless or perhaps even dangerous as it would expose them to German men and parties.

This argument is prevalent in the community, though generally hush-hush. Instead of an active or constructive discussion about the benefits of educating women, the issue is often reduced to university students claiming that their uneducated counterparts are proponents of marriage because they were not accepted in university. Despite the traditional authority of parents to arrange their daughter in marriage, all of the second-generation interviewees praised

their parents for giving them choices about their future, even if that choice was the binary university versus marriage. Perhaps this is the first of small steps towards more Western and modern attitudes towards women in the Punjabi diaspora.

This restricted binary choice does not, however, seem to exist for boys. Boys and young men are given much more flexibility regarding their life choices by their parents - even in terms of curfews and social events. One of the male interviewees, a 22 year old single man, has not attended university and is currently living with his parents while working full-time. When asked about marriage, he said he knows his mother will start talking to him about it in the next few years. He intends to marry someone his parents will approve of, but the choice seems to clearly lie with him as opposed to being in the hands of his parents.

Suchlike gender divides are clear everywhere in the community. Being of Punjabi descent myself, I struggled to navigate these gender boundaries and be to be viewed as a respectable girl while conducting my research in a thorough and unbiased manner. Approaching Indian men in the temple was challenging as they were rarely comfortable or willing to talk to me. Even when asking girls my age if I could interview their parents, they almost exclusively responded with "yes, I will ask my mother". I am not sure whether the older men in the community were unwilling to talk to me or whether everyone, including second-generation, educated young women, did not find it appropriate for me to speak with them.

As for the younger generation, I had to tread extremely carefully to avoid the impression that I was romantically interested in my interview subjects. Every aspect of the Punjabi community is segregated by gender - even in the temple itself. In the main prayer room, all women sit on the left side of the aisle and men on the right. The same is true in the *langar* or lunch hall where families and friends gather to talk before services for tea and after services for

lunch. There are extremely clear divides between the male and female sides of the room and crossing this line is only acceptable for children young enough to cry for their mothers. Raised in this environment, it would seem that boys and men alike are completely unaccustomed to speaking with girls and women. My acceptance in the community was dependent upon my assertion of being part of the Punjabi diaspora and similar to them; however, this conflicted with being strictly professional in my attempt to interview men.

Findings - Comparison to the Turkish Immigrants: Community Size and Religion

Most Sociological theory on immigrant integration argues that smaller immigrant communities are more likely to integrate into host-country society and culture (Esser 2010, Schwarz and Blau 1984). Lack of micro-census data has forced me to estimate the number of Punjabi immigrants in Bremen. The local Gurdwara (Sikh temple) had an average congregation of 70 people (calculated from my weekly visits there over four months). I assume that the majority of Punjabi immigrants attend these services, but even if this is not the case, it is extremely unlikely that there are more than a few hundred Punjabis in Bremen. Given that the city has a total population of 548,000 (2012 UNdata), this proportion seems relatively insignificant.

Regardless, my formal interviews, as well as regular observations at weekly church services, indicated that this Punjabi community has not integrated into German society. Even among the second-generation teenagers, almost every subject expressed preferences for Indian culture. For example, all TV, movie, and music interests were primarily Punjabi. Upon asking some teenage girls if they listened to German music, they laughed out loud. I will discuss friend selection in more detail in the next section, but after the age of 15 none of the interviewees had any native German friends. They seem to have no interest in making friends outside their

community, even if that means their social time and social circles are extremely limited.

In Germany most discourse about immigrants and their integration is in regards to the Turkish immigrants. Since relatively extensive research has been done on this group, comparing Punjabis and Indians to their Turkish counterparts in Germany will prove helpful in understanding integration issues specific to Germany. Immigration from Turkey to Germany began with guest worker recruitment programs in 1960. Recruitment stopped in 1970, but women and children continued to immigrate to be reunited with their husbands and fathers. Though net migration is now negative and has been so for a number of years, the Turkish presence is still significant (Riphahn, Sander, and Wunder 2013, 71). Half of all Turkish-origin people in Germany were born and raised in Germany, but they remain poorly integrated, with high rates of high school dropouts, low rates of bicultural marriages, and low female labor force participation (Riphahn, Sander, and Wunder 2013, 71).

The growing immigrant population in Germany is significant, with 2.4% of the population being Turkish and a larger 3.7% being Muslim (CIA World Factbook). Over the past few years, and presumably into the future, these numbers are increasing, and thus Turkish immigrants are becoming more visible as German "Auslander". In his article, Ramm claims that the visible Turkish community has come to "represent all the problems attached to the immigration issue" (185). This observation implies that the Turkish community is regarded as a problem in Germany - as opposed to a community with integration problems. Additionally, the integration problems of all immigrant communities are being generalized and simplified based on the experience of Turkish integration. Though Turkish immigrants are the dominant minority in the country, simplifying all of Germany’s integration difficulties into the “problem” of the Turkish community is neither accurate nor productive.

An obvious difference between the Turkish community and the Punjabi community is that of religion. One element I find extremely important in many (if not most) countries in Western Europe is a perceived threat from Islam. The Sniderman et. al. article discusses this occasionally, stating that "Increasingly, the strains over immigration in Western Europe are being cast in terms of a division between European majorities and Muslim minorities" (2004, 47). Given that most of the big immigrant groups in Western Europe are from Muslim-majority countries (Turkey, the North African countries, refugees from Syria, etc), it would follow that at least far-right opposition to immigration would be associated with Islam. C. Ramm's study focuses on this and is titled "How Germany Islamizes Turkish Immigrants".

Whether Punjabis are perceived by native Germans as Muslims or even misidentified as Turkish is unclear. Unsurprisingly, a few interviewees admitted to have been mistaken for a Turkish Muslim, but never in a threatening or malicious way. In fact, over the past few years multiple students from the local university have come to the Gurdwara to observe and talk to members of the community to learn about their faith and culture. From descriptions of these interactions, and my personal experience in Bremen, it would seem that Germans (certainly those in Bremen) have little knowledge or awareness of Sikh faith. They are, however, more than aware of the growing Indian presence in Germany. Upon telling one of my professors that my research focused on Indian immigrants, he responded "you must be frequenting all the pizza places here". However, even professors of the sociology of immigrants were surprised to hear that Bremen housed a Sikh temple.

Presumably Indian immigrants bring their home culture, language, and religion to Germany at levels comparable to those of Turkish migrants. Thus, the answer to which group, if either, is more strongly opposed by German natives lies in which group generally assimilates

more poorly. The question of assimilation is ambiguous and thus difficult to quantify. Strongly retaining home country culture can be closely tied with religion, just as language can be closely tied with levels of education. In 2009, Constant, Gatuallina, and Zimmerman conducted an excellent study, creating an "ethnosizer" that separates historically ambiguous notions of assimilation and integration. They find fault with the black and white notions of whether an individual is more Turkish or German, and instead analyze more specific elements of ethnicity. They claim that five groups capture the salient factors of ethnic identity: language use, cultural aspects, ethnic networks, migration history, and ethnic self-identification (Constant, Gatuallina, and Zimmerman 2009, 285). They distinguish between integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. In addition, they control for age, age at entry, religion, educational levels, and ethnic origin (Constant, Gatuallina, and Zimmerman 2009, 285). Thus, their findings are more specific than other similar studies. They find that Muslims (mostly presumably Turkish, but also a big proportion from North Africa) are more strongly tied to their ethnicity, both culturally and linguistically, and generally intend to stay in Germany permanently (as opposed to Catholic immigrants). Levels of religiosity affect assimilation: religious migrants assimilate well compared to non-religious migrants, but they do not integrate. They also determine that "All ethnicities are less ethnosized than Turks, who have a strong Turkish ethnic identity"(Constant, Gatuallina, and Zimmerman 2009, 285).

What implications does this study have, if any, for Indian immigrants? Given the specificity of the study, I argue that the findings are not directly generalizable to Indian immigrants. Nevertheless, it is useful for two reasons. First, it provides many specific points of comparison for similar research that may be done on Indian immigrants. Second, it provides an excellent research design to analyze similar levels of ethnicity and assimilation/integration of

Indians. Studies like this also change the way we analyze immigrant groups – giving importance to specific elements of immigrant communities instead of inappropriately generalizing from them.

Findings - Segmented Assimilation

The aforementioned theory of Segmented Assimilation by Portes and Zhou is also directly relevant and applicable to this study. Earlier theories speculated that immigrants saw economic success most often by integrating socially and culturally; however, this study suggests an alternate point of view. Portes and Zhou argue that youth who stick with their ethnic culture and community may see benefits (education, economic mobility) "through use of the material and social capital that their communities make available", suggesting that immigrants no longer need to acculturate or seek acceptance from natives in order to move into higher social status and economic prosperity (Portes and Zhou 1993, 82). Given that the Sikh community of Bremen is still quite new, and the second generation is barely reaching adulthood, it may be too early to declare that Bremen's Punjabis have chosen this path; however, some aspects of this theory are undeniably applicable to the Punjabi community. The most striking one is that of friend choices among Punjabi immigrants. Portes and Zhou argue that immigrant children are more likely to make friends with other immigrant children or even children of similar skin colors than Caucasian natives. All the teenagers I interviewed said that the few non-Indian friends they had were either Turkish or North African. They claimed that other immigrants could better understand social restrictions enforced by strict traditional parents, even if they did not understand the specifics of Punjabi culture.

Similarly, all interviewees asserted that they have married or will marry other Punjabis - whether they be from India or from the German-Punjabi community. I only heard rumors of one

girl in the community who had a non-Punjabi boyfriend, and it is assumed that she will not be an active member of the community if she continues this relationship. The complete lack of interest in (or perhaps acceptance of) intermarriage significantly lowers the chances of integration.

Though the community is tight-knit and socially strict, they seem to be doing well economically in the country. Again, it is rather early in the community's history to claim confidently that prosperity is significantly increasing. Not all teenagers intend to go to university, but some of them are do attend and study and subjects such as engineering that will inevitably lead to better jobs and financial standing than their parents have had in the restaurant business. The second generation speaks perfect German and is generally most comfortable in that language (though they are fluent in Punjabi).

Another possible outcome discussed in segmented assimilation theory is downward mobility. An aspect of economic opposition to immigration is the welfare use of immigrants. Turkish immigrants make up 3% of the German population but 6% of the nation’s welfare recipients (Riphahn, Sander, and Wunder 2013, 70). It is interesting that second-generation Turks are the ones disproportionately on welfare - not first generation (Riphahn, Sander, and Wunder 2013, 71). Many studies have been done on the increasing health problems among Turkish immigrants, but a looming question here is their levels of unemployment. Why have even second-generation Turks, presumably educated at some level, in failed to integrate into the German job market? This question has sparked a plethora of academic analyses, but stands in contrast with the economic situation of Indian immigrants. Presumably, the qualification levels of Indian immigrants have enabled them to seek and retain higher paying jobs and thus be less vulnerable to unemployment; however, what remains to be seen is the state of second-generation Indians. If they should face similar assimilation problems as Turkish immigrants, or do poorly in

school, they may grow up to encounter similar challenges in the job market. As the children of Indian ICT workers navigate the workforce in Germany, and potentially explore other sectors, statistical studies and analyses of Indian Germans will change.

The state of these ICT workers and Indians in general stands to contrast with the Punjabi community interviewed here. The vast majority of Punjabi immigrants in Bremen work in restaurants or labor jobs. Few of them are university educated, and, if they were, their degrees were irrelevant in Germany. None of my interviewees admitted to having ever received welfare, but I cannot be sure that this is true. As stated above, the story of second-generation Punjabis in regards to economic success is yet to be written. Downward mobility seems highly unlikely in this community, but not because of education. None of the interviewees said their parents pushed them to go to university, and many (though not the majority) said they did not even feel pressure to get good grades in school. This educational pressure is one reason, if not the reason, that Punjabi immigrant communities in California and the UK have seen such success in the second and third generations, so perhaps the community in Bremen will not see as rapid economic success and job market integration. What will keep them from downward mobility, however, is the importance of traditional Punjabi family and religious values.

Whether Punjabi parents actively discourage their children from making white friends is unclear, but it seems unlikely. My younger interviewees (15 and younger) admit to having mainly white friends. I assumed this was a reflection of integration of the second generation, that as the community grows it will increasingly reach out to befriend natives and thereby integrate. However, many of my interviewees in their late teens and twenties told me they too had white German friends as children, but as they grew older they found themselves drifting toward other minorities. They said that in high school, topics such as dating and parties become more typical

points of conversation, and, given their upbringing and the strict rules of Punjabi families, they found themselves unable to relate to their native classmates. The teenagers said they found themselves growing closer to their Punjabi friends - even if they only saw each other at Sunday church services. In addition, because of the lack of Indians in the community and at each school, Bremen's Punjabi teenagers began to seek out other minorities - Turkish and North African friends. These friends could better understand the social limitations enforced by their parents and help each other negotiate a bicultural identity.

Findings - Comparison to other Punjabi Immigrant Communities

I generally found that the Punjabi community in Bremen shows similarities to Punjabi immigrant communities in the UK and US, but, notably, to earlier generations in these countries. Portes and Zhou use Punjabi immigrants in California as one of their case studies. Punjabi families in California warned their children against "too much contact with white peers" to avoid things such as "leaving home at age 18, making decisions without parental consent, dating, and dancing", but at the same time, Punjabi parents urged their children to learn and excel in English, to study hard, and to obey all authority, particularly at school (Portes and Zhou 1993, 90). Portes and Zhou call the success of this strategy is "remarkable" - Punjabi immigrants were all generally poor on arrival and they did not settle in huge cities. Relatively uneducated, they worked long and hard hours in agricultural jobs. Perhaps, also, the rewards of the hard work of the first generation proved to the second generation that their parents were doing something right and they should trust them. "Through this strategy of selective assimilation, Punjabi Sikhs appeared to be winning the race against the inevitable acculturation of their children to American-style aspirations" (Portes and Zhou 1993, 91). Most elements are strikingly similar to my findings in

Bremen - closeness of the community, importance of keeping home-country values, traditions and language, and warning against assimilating to White/Western culture. One aspect, however, differed greatly between these two communities. In California, uneducated and relatively poor Punjabi parents put incredible amounts of pressure on their children to study hard, become fluent in English, go to university, and pursue fruitful careers. This educational pressure (which I assume is present in Punjabi communities in the UK as well) does not seem present in Bremen. Three out of five high school students interviewed said that their parents had never put pressure on them to go to university, leaving them the choice. I also met two adults in their early twenties who said they may consider going to university later but at the present time were happy with their jobs/marriages. This lack of pressure to study hard, a characteristic aspect of Punjabi immigrant parents, is mysteriously lacking in Bremen. Perhaps this is because of the newness of the community; and perhaps it will change in the next generation. Another possible explanation is that the German educational system poses greater challenges to high school students to be accepted into university. This is the explanation I was given by two of the interviewees who claimed that educational ability to pursue a university degree in Germany was determined far too early.

The German orientation process of *Orientierungsstufe* begins in fifth grade and, over the course of a year, teachers determine the best educational path for their students. There are four educational paths in which a student can be enrolled after the *Orientierungsstufe* which include higher education, technical schools, or preparing to enter directly into the workforce. After being placed in one of the four paths, a student may move up or down depending on his or her performance But, based on my Punjabi interviews, a student has to do exceptionally well and be extremely vocal and active if he or she wishes to switch to a better educational path.

Understandably, this process is heavily criticized for not accounting for development disparities between children and for assuming that academic potential can be determined so early (Clark 2004, 284). Even the two girls mentioned earlier, who are currently in university, explained what a stressful and relatively unfair process this is, saying that Punjabi parents and students alike may not realize how important those early years of primary school are. By the time parents would normally begin putting more academic pressure on their children, their "path" has already been determined.

Additionally, analysis of the children's academic potential may be biased or "significantly influenced by socioeconomic status and educational background as opposed to the child's actual abilities" (Clark 2004, 284). Germany's relative failure to integrate immigrants affects their opportunities in the education system. An article recently written for NPR restates what Clark insinuates in her comment above: that schools, teachers, and native-German parents may expect less academic potential from immigrant children. Schools in Germany often receive a bad reputation simply because many or most of their students speak German as a second language. This problem is most relevant in bigger cities such as Berlin and Frankfurt with larger immigrant populations. However, this sentiment is also prevalent in Bremen.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to place Germany's Punjabis on the map – both in the context of minority groups in Germany and other Punjabi communities across the globe. Though relatively new and significantly small, the Punjabi community in Bremen is growing and increasingly representative of smaller immigrant groups in Germany and Western Europe. Unlike many Indian immigrants currently in Germany, this Punjabi community did not come to Bremen as highly educated ICT professionals, but instead as laborers similar to workers coming to

Germany from Poland and Southern Europe. Though small and specific, the Punjabi immigrant community in Bremen and throughout Germany is representative of the increasing diversity of Germany's immigrants. Though Turkish immigrants still dominate the minority population statistically, Germany's policies and culture must adjust to integrate a wide variety of migrants who now call Germany home. Segmented assimilation would indicate that these migrants can still succeed economically while remaining culturally isolated, but if the second generation and future generations hope to call Germany home, some form of cultural assimilation will be necessary. Awareness of smaller immigrant communities is key to beginning cultural shifts that will help integrate immigrants and help the second-generation have a stronger bicultural identity.

Portes and Zhou discuss Gibson's work on Punjabis and California and discuss how they managed economic success without integrating culturally. Due primarily to the nature of German education, this outcome seems less likely for German Punjabis. I have argued that Punjabi students are put on a non-university academic track too early which, combined with the lack of academic pressure from parents, undermines their potential pursuit of a college education. Though none of the interviewees who did not go to university complained about being on a different track in school, we can infer that at least some of them would have chosen to go to university if they had been judged differently in their fifth grade orientation. Additionally, if these students are placed in lower categories at age eleven because of their German skills or socio-economic status, chances of reaching university are slim.

In this essay I have also argued against Esser's theory that smaller immigrant communities are more likely to assimilate to host-country culture. Though the Punjabi community in Bremen (and Germany in general) is rather small, it remain extremely close and closed because of Gurdwara attendance as well as working in similar fields. I also argue that

associating with only Punjabis is inherent in the culture. Other Punjabis communities mentioned in this study have similarly kept a tight hold on their culture, warning their children of the dangers and risks of associating with modern, Western children. Because Punjabi Sikhs share a common belief system, they trust members of their community to have similar morals and standards for their children.

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